464 reasons, and thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . ."[12] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[13]

466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[14] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[15] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[12] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[13] *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year III, No. 45, April 25, 1952.

[14] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[31] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[32] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[33]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[34] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[35]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[31] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[32] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[33] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[34] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

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After metal type for printing has been "set" on a machine like the one whose keyboard is shown on the cover, the type is "locked up" in "chases" on a "stone," which means that it is fastened into a rectangular frame on a table. When the letter-press method is used, the type then goes directly to a press.

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formance, the "socialist labor discipline" represents the most immediate threat facing the worker on the job. Its most important features are absenteeism and inefficiency. Thus, a Bulgarian worker violates the labor discipline and may incur disciplinary or court punishment when he is absent from work, when he is late for work, when he leaves work prematurely, or when he is not efficient enough during his working day.[12] The disciplinary punishment imposed by the administration of the enterprise may range from a warning, reprimand, severe reprimand or transfer, to a lower-paid job in the same or a different enterprise, or dismissal.[13] With the exhaustion of the disciplinary punishments the way is open for criminal prosecution, either under the new Penal Code or under the Law of the People's Militia.[14]

Immediate dismissal is imposed when the worker is "negligent toward his obligations" or "comes to work in evidently drunken condition" and also when he is "absent from work without valid reasons for more than half of a working day as well as late for more than

[12] *Trud*, December 17, 1951.
[13] Cf. Art. 129 of the Labor Code.
[14] Cf. Art. 130 of the Labor Code.
[14] Penal Code in *Izvestiya na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 13, February 13, 1951. Law on the People's Militia, cited at footnote 14.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[39] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[40] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[41] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[42]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[39] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[40] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[41] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[42] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[43] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[44] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[45] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[46] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[47] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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